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HELPS FOR STUDENTS OF HISTORY. No. 31

EDITED BY C. JOHNSON, M.A., H. W. V. TEMPERLEY, M.A., AND J. P. WHITNEY, B.D., D.C.L.

A STUDENT'S GUIDE TO THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

BY

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A STUDENT'S GUIDE TO THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

WHY MANUSCRIPTS MUST BE STUDIED

A DISTINGUISHED historian not very long ago asserted that it was impossible to write history from manuscripts. We may be sure, however, that he would have been among the first to accept the converse half-truth, that it is impossible to write history without the aid of manuscripts. Further than this, it would probably be safe to say that no historian can acquire the truly scientific spirit necessary for the proper handling of material and the making of broad and true generalizations if he has not himself had some first-hand knowledge and experience of work upon the manuscript sources with which he has to deal. In the biological world the mass of facts to be studied is so great that no leading generalizations are to be expected from a naturalist working purely upon his own examination of species. So it is in history, at any rate the history of civilized peoples in the last eight hundred years. He who would study the interaction of facts and the thoughts and actions

of men will find so vast a mass of evidences to work upon that he cannot rely purely upon his own reading of sources. He needs archivists and monograph-writers to act as his middle-men, to put into print in a concise and digested form the result of years of minute study. Whether or not such middle-men may themselves be entitled to the name of historians we need not stay to discuss. They are as necessary to the work of the master-historian as the builder is to the architect. But the point to be noted here is that just as Darwin attributed the success of his generalizations in biology in no small degree to his prolonged training in the minute and detailed description and classification of barnacles, so the greatest historians have felt the need of work at original sources to enable them to value correctly the results obtained for them by others, to judge when they may accept such results without verification and when they must regard them as open to suspicion of inaccuracy or prejudice.

What and Where are these Manuscripts?

Granted that the study of manuscript sources is indispensable to the historian, where are these sources to be found? The answer must depend upon the individual historian's view of history, but it is difficult to conceive of any view of history which will not find much of its material in a great collection of manuscripts. It is more than possible, it is wise to protest against a conception of history

based purely upon the study of official archives, because it tends to ignore or undervalue the importance to human happiness and human progress of art and literature, the knowledge and ideals, the beliefs, the desires, and the passions of a people. But all these, it is scarcely necessary to say, are reflected in written as well as printed words, and often more clearly in the less formal medium, just as we may often get a better idea of past times from an old dwelling-house than from a cathedral. Nevertheless, even the most convinced disciple of J. R. Green will not deny that the study of administration constitutes a necessary part of history—indeed, it may well be said that Green's greatest service to history was in calling attention to the insufficient study of some departments of administration, other than national, which was a defect of the historians before his day. Let us, then, begin with the history of government in the widest sense of the term. Primarily, according to modern ideas, archives are the proper place of deposit for documents preserved for administrative purposes, relating to any department of national or other public affairs. National, ecclesiastical, municipal, manorial, local, and private archives are all receptacles for the accumulation of documents of high importance to the historian, and each of these classes will doubtless be the subject of one or other of the books in this series, but they are not the sole nor always the ultimate repositories for the documents which the historian needs. The science of archive-keeping, so far as it is

directed to instructing the remote future, is comparatively modern, and even when a more restricted point of view has been kept in mind, the practice of the art has always fallen far short of the ideals of the time. Especially the idea of a centralized and comprehensive national archive-house has been very slow of realization. Speaking generally, our archives have come into being to meet the practical and immediate needs of the departments of government with which they are directly connected, and have continued for the greater part of their history to be in the custody of those departments. As the forms of government alter, however, it is easy for the departments of it to lose their identity or change their functions, and for this reason they may have come to neglect the preservation of such of their documents as they no longer have any reason to consult. Changes of handwriting and of the language or forms of documents have sometimes conduced to this neglect by rendering the documents illegible or unintelligible to the successors of those who wrote them. Too often, also, the custody of the archives has been allowed to remain in the hands of the individual administrators, instead of the office. They have thus been regarded as the administrator's private property, and have been subject to all the accidents incidental to the preservation of private property from one generation to another. One or other of these causes has lost for the historian millions of documents of inestimable value for his purposes, and scattered hundreds of thousands of others in

places where they are not readily accessible. Against these perils, however, there have, for centuries before the days of Public Records Commissions, been certain forces at work, spasmodically and unscientifically, but none the less actuated by right motives. Men of learning and public spirit, historians and antiquaries, political and ecclesiastical students, both conservatives and reformers, have recognized the dangers of ignorance of the past, and fought against them according to their ability. The result has been to establish in private, semi-private, or public libraries storehouses for the neglected records of the past, and though such libraries have had their vicissitudes of fortune, they have on the whole tended to keep up a sense of the value of their contents and to preserve them from further neglect or destruction. To the exertions of some of these men we owe the great public libraries of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dublin, and many others of a semi-private character, such as the libraries of cathedrals, colleges, and Inns of Court, as well as that with which we are at present concerned, the national library in the British Museum. The outlines of the process by which this was evolved we shall have to discuss in the next section.

But the political and economic sides of historical study, which find their principal pabulum in records, form but a part of historical study as a whole, and even for these the student cannot afford to neglect many writings other than records which may embody political theory or economic

facts. Literature, religion, philosophy, science, and art have all to be taken into account. We have to consider how far the study of manuscripts is necessary for these purposes also, and in what ways it is to be made useful. All literature, of course, except its very earliest forms, which may have been committed to memory, and its very latest, in the record of which mechanical contrivances are beginning to play a part, is originally written, but undoubtedly the most and the best of it, from all periods, has by now been committed to the press. What need have we, then, for concerning ourselves with manuscripts? Is it not generally true that a literary or scientific work only remains unprinted if it is not worth printing? It would be easy to meet this half-truth with another, and say that no printed edition can ever give all the information to be extracted from the manuscript on which it is based. But the answer would be lacking in precision. It would be absurd to suggest that no writer for the press should ever destroy his copy when it returns to him from the printer, though for special reasons we may desire to keep the original manuscripts of a few great writers. A reader in the British Museum—he belonged to a nation not conspicuous for humility—has been known, when rebuked for careless usage of an ancient manuscript, to reply that when his edition was published the manuscript would no longer be worth a snap of the fingers. Let us see exactly why he was wrong. In the first place an ancient manuscript is either in the autograph of the author,

or it is not. In the former case, which is very rare, it contains evidence by which the correctness of the edition must be tested, evidence not merely of the actual words of the author, but, what is more difficult, of the date or dates at which they were written, the place of origin, the completeness or incompleteness of the work, and other points, upon which the editor, printing long afterwards, may have erred. In the latter case the text has passed through the hands of one or more, generally of many more, copyists, all of whom have certainly made some mistakes. The text has therefore to be restored by textual criticism, which is not a mechanical process, not even an exact science, but is based on minute study of the data given by the various manuscripts. It is, moreover, coming to be more recognized that even bad manuscripts, by the evidence which they afford of the mode of transmission of a work, can be of importance for the establishment of a correct text. Until an infallible race of editors is evolved, of which there is no sign, manuscripts must still be studied. But it is not even true that nearly all mediæval literature worth study has been printed. It may be true that nearly all has been printed which it would pay to print—that is to say, nearly all which any large number of persons wishes to read, or rather to possess. But a literary work may be important to the historian precisely because the general modern reader finds it unreadable. If a book which was readable in the Middle Ages is unreadable now, it is presumed to be because the

mental condition of the mediæval reader was different, and it is the function of history to make it clear what that difference is. Lastly, history cannot afford to neglect the study of art, and the decoration of books is a department of art which occupied in the Middle Ages a more important place than it has done since the sixteenth century. Many of the pictures used in decoration of books are also of interest as illustrations of contemporary social life, although the use of them for this purpose is not always such a simple matter as at first sight appears. It requires experience to discriminate what is realistic representation from what is mere convention or intended to make a pictorial story readily intelligible. It would be rash to assume that a King always wore his crown or a Bishop his mitre on the occasions on which an illuminator represents him as wearing them. Still, the knowledge to be gained from illuminated manuscripts is considerable and by no means exhausted, and the British Museum possesses a collection not only unrivalled for the study of the British schools of illumination, but scarcely equalled by any one other library for the study of the art of the Continental nations.

Origins of the British Museum Manuscript Collections

Apart from the Exchequer, the Wardrobe, and the Chancery, the principal storehouses for records, and almost the sole storehouses for literature in

the country, during the Middle Ages, were the archives and libraries of the monasteries and of the houses of friars. The first great general danger to these accumulations came, therefore, with the suppression of the religious houses under Henry VIII. But along with the destruction that then took place came also, under the same King's authority, those first remedial measures which must be associated with the name of John Leland. By his means, and in virtue of the powers given him by the King to seek out and rescue books from the monastic libraries, the Royal Library, virtually founded some fifty years before by Edward IV., first acquired a real importance as a collection of literary and historical material. Genuine, however, though Henry's appreciation of learning, especially theological learning, undoubtedly was, his love for historical material was not so strong as his greed for money, and his coadjutors in the suppression cared even less. The bulk of the libraries and archives were scattered, and the survival during the next seventy years of any part of them outside the Royal Library results mainly from the labours of a few private collectors. Among these special mention is due to Archbishop Cranmer; Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel; his son-in-law John, Lord Lumley; Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel; Sir Robert Cotton; Sir Thomas Bodley; and Archbishop Parker. Others there were, such as Dr. John Dee, Lord William Howard, and Henry Savile of Banke, who also, in their individual capacities, rendered impor-

tant services of the same kind; but the collections of the seven men first mentioned eventually passed almost entire into public keeping—the first five to the British Museum, Bodley's to Oxford, Parker's to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. And the last three of them seem to have collected definitely with a view to the public service and not to private profit. With Bodley and Parker we are not here concerned, but as the name of Cotton is somewhat of an abomination to the professional archivist, it seems but fair to note the aims of his work. In association with other members of the (Elizabethan) Society of Antiquaries, he prepared, in his younger days, a comprehensive scheme for a British Academy and National Historical Library which should incorporate the Royal Library and other collections, and should also endow historical research. It was apparently only upon the failure of this scheme—a failure due to the parsimony of Elizabeth's Government—that he embarked upon his own private enterprise of collecting historical manuscripts and documents, and it was because he found in the archives of departments no facilities for historical study that he became guilty of most of those sins against the important principle of *respect des fonds*—that documents must not be divorced from their context, that is to say from other documents belonging to the same department —which the modern historian finds it hard to forgive. In any case, Cotton's raids upon the public records provided but a part of his collection, and the praise or blame attaching to them must

be shared with the King who gave him permission to make them. His greatest services to learning were in collecting from other sources, and the full story of the Cotton Library has yet to be written, though portions of it may be read in Edwards's *Memoirs of Libraries* and *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum*. To proceed with this necessarily brief summary of the origins of that institution, King James I. has a less ambiguous title to gratitude for his purchase of the Lumley Library (including the collection of Cranmer and Henry, Earl of Arundel), which he presented to his son, Prince Henry, and resumed on the Prince's death. He has also the credit of providing for the first time an active and competent librarian, Patrick Young, and of securing a part of the library of the famous scholar Isaac Casaubon.

Among the great collectors of the seventeenth century lawyers take the lead, and two of them who were nearly contemporaries of Cotton deserve mention here. Sir Simonds D'Ewes brought together a mass of historical material, which, as a tributary to the Harley Collection, ultimately came to increase that of the Museum. Sir Julius Cæsar's library, not so fortunate in remaining a single unit, has yet, through the Lansdowne Collection and otherwise, contributed substantially to the same end. The majority, however, of the great libraries of that century, such as those of Archbishop Laud, John Selden, Sir Kenelm Digby, and Elias Ashmole, went to augment the magnificent foundation of Sir Thomas Bodley. Somewhat

later the extensive manuscript collections of John Theyer were bought by Charles II., and the library of Lord Somers has a history analogous to that of Sir J. Cæsar.

With the opening of the eighteenth century we enter upon the period of unification and nationalization. The first stages are the acceptance by the nation of the Cotton Library as a gift from Cotton's grandson, and the fuller recognition of a national interest in the Royal Library which gradually came about during the time that Richard Bentley combined the keepership of both libraries. The further stages were the purchase of the Harleian Collection formed by the first two Earls of Oxford, the acceptance of the bequest of Sir Hans Sloane's Collection, the definite gift of the Royal Library and the foundation of the British Museum in order to afford house-room and provide custody for the four collections in one building. The date of the Museum Act of Parliament is 1753, and that of the opening of the building 1759.

Later History of the Museum Manuscript Collections.

Space does not admit of any detailed description of the processes by which the manuscript contents of the Museum have grown from roughly 15,000 volumes, the number which it had at its original opening, to over 51,000, which the Manuscript Department now contains, to say nothing of the corresponding increase in the number of charters

or deeds not bound into volumes, or the addition of a new class in the Greek and Latin papyri. It has come about, of course, partly by the gift, bequest, or purchase of whole libraries, partly by bequests, donations, and purchases in detail from year to year. As regards the former, the enumeration of the separate collections, with brief notes of their origin, will be given in Appendix A. Both here and in single acquisitions the generosity and public spirit of private benefactors has co-operated with the prudence of the Trustees and the skill of their officers, who in the latter case have spared no pains to employ to the best advantage the funds at their disposal for improving the collections and rendering them accessible. There is, however, one benefaction that concerns both classes, and is thereby particularly calculated to keep warm the memory of the donors in a librarian's heart. Francis Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater, not only bequeathed to the Museum in 1829 his collection of manuscripts, but also an annuity to be devoted to its increase, and this sum, afterwards augmented by his relative Charles Long, Lord Farnborough, maintains the Egerton Collection, not as something dead and complete, but as a living and growing entity. Without in any way disparaging the generosity of other benefactors, we could wish that more of them had followed this example, especially since Treasury grants, though they have never failed us except in stress of a great war, are very far from growing in proportion to the growth of prices of manuscripts. Of

this appreciation of values there are many causes, but two particularly notable. The first is the rise of wealthy English-speaking nations over sea, anxious, like ourselves, to possess memorials of their history, and, by the very reason of the shortness of that history, able to spend more upon illustrating any particular portion of it than an ancient country can hope to do. The other is the collecting mania in respect of autographs. It is not to be denied that the appreciation of autograph letters of real historical interest has its good side. It has done something to save historical documents from destruction, and much more to stimulate interest in them among the general public. It has been the policy of the Museum to make a full use in its exhibition galleries of the possibilities of autographs for this purpose, and there is reason to believe that it has been successful. Nevertheless, there has been nothing more destructive to all sound principles of archivism than the scattering of such documents in private collections away from their context. The prices obtained at sales are governed by the rarity of the autograph rather than by its intrinsic interest, and it is clearly impossible to fight against the passions of acquisitiveness with such moneys as are obtainable in this, or perhaps in any, country for a purely scientific purpose.

What to Expect to find in the Museum Manuscripts.

Brief as I have necessarily made the foregoing outlines of an answer to the question how the manuscripts in the Museum came there, they seemed an essential, or at least a useful, preliminary to the treatment of the more important question which stands at the head of this section. It would be easy to fill and overfill the available space with a dry, condensed list of different kinds of manuscripts which are in the Department. To formulate useful principles as to what is or is not likely to be there is more difficult, but the attempt must be made. People come to the Students' Room, or write to the officers of the Department, with the most diverse notions of what they may expect to find, and although the readers of these Helps for Students will not probably need to be told that they cannot see there autograph writings of the Apostles, or the signatures of the Norman and Angevin Kings of England—no, not even the signature of King John on Magna Charta, though two of the original sealed exemplars of that document are, of course, there—yet there is every excuse for ignorance of such facts as that the Museum contains a preponderatingly large proportion of all extant charters of the Anglo-Saxon period, or that it is not the natural place to search for an Inclosure Award.

First of all, then, just as we found it convenient when considering the origins of the collections to

regard the Department primarily as a supplementary public archive, so now we will again put that aspect of it in the forefront, not because that is necessarily the most important function which it serves, but because this section of its contents presents special difficulties and snares for the inexperienced searcher. It may indeed be said that there are very few classes of public records for which the student may not have to use the manuscripts of the Museum, but the probability of his having to do so varies enormously in the different classes. If a stray volume of minutes of the Privy Council, a fragment of a Close Roll, or an Episcopal Register happens to be there, this is only by a rare accident, whereas the searcher after early Wardrobe Accounts is almost as likely to find what he wants, if it survives at all, in the Museum as in the Public Record Office. There were some departments of Government, such as the mediæval office of King's Secretary, which seem never to have had a proper place for the deposit of archives, and even offices which kept their records with care sometimes had a marginal class of demi-official registers, precedent-books and the like, drawn up by the holders of various offices for their own convenience rather than as a matter of duty, which might or might not be thought worthy of official custody. Legal or official "polite letter-writers" of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries often yield valuable information to the historical student, though no class of document needs greater caution in its interpretation.

There is also in the Department an extensive store of calendars, indexes, and extracts of public records, compiled for the most part by antiquaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Unscientific though this second-hand work almost always is, it may yet be found useful. The original record may possibly be lost or displaced by later rearrangement, or the official calendaring may not yet have reached the stage of superseding this early and imperfect work. Even the blunders are often valuable as showing the source of statements in the earlier historians which cannot otherwise be traced.

But incomparably the largest class of historical documents by which the Museum supplements the Record Office is, as is well known, the correspondence of State officers, Secretaries of State, and other Ministers, civil, naval, and military administrators, and diplomatic representatives. It is not to the purpose here to discuss the history of the State Paper Office, or explain the comparative failure of this or that department of State to secure the custody of its own records. No settled policy in the matter can be said to have been, even in theory, adopted in this country prior to the Public Records Acts of the last century; and in practice a statesman's papers, unless he took pains to order it otherwise, have generally been his own papers and not the nation's. It is not easy to distinguish between public and private papers even now, nor would the distinction always correspond with the distinction of what is or is not interesting to the

historian. From the days of Richard of Bury to those of Lord Palmerston it has been notoriously possible for a statesman to put into a private letter things of more historical consequence than what he writes officially to the same address. Yet more possible is it for a statesman to receive in his private capacity letters which, upon occasion, may influence his public actions as greatly as any official dispatches. Substantially, therefore, a very large part of the most important correspondence of our statesmen has gone to form private and not public archives. The fate of such archives has varied, but scores of them have passed almost intact into the Museum collections.

For the reign of Henry VIII., which we may take to be the earliest period for which any bewildering quantity of such correspondence survives, the student enjoys the great advantage that Messrs. Brewer, Gairdner, and Brodie have combined in their calendars of *Letters and Papers* most of the different collections within and without the Public Record Office. For subsequent reigns he has to collect the materials for himself, although with respect to the Museum something has been done towards the combination of the different collections there, as will be explained later, in the volumes known as the Class Catalogue. Steps are now being taken to improve this, and to render it available for use outside the Museum. It is, of course, impossible in this place to give anything like a complete list of the important collections of State papers in the Museum, but a brief list of

some of the more important of them may serve to indicate the sort of material the student may expect to find there. Such a list is given in Appendix B.

Turning from national to minor records, we find an increased difficulty in laying down general rules for searchers. The survival of archives is dependent in most cases upon the continuity of life of the corporations to which they belong, and corporations, though they are fictitious persons, share to some extent in the mortal accidents which belong to the life of real persons. They vary likewise, as real persons do, in the quality of their memories as represented by their records. Corporations ecclesiastical have long memories, the Church being the oldest institution in the country, and they have good memories, because in the Middle Ages they included most of the scholars and many persons with legal training. But we are not much concerned here with episcopal records. The registers of Bishops remain, generally speaking, in episcopal custody, and are dealt with in another tract in this series, though we must note that the Museum has much second-hand information extracted from them, especially in the White-Kennett Collections among the Lansdowne MSS. For monastic corporations, on the other hand, the Museum is, as we have seen, the most important repository of surviving records. They do not, for the most part, appear among the manuscripts rescued by Leland for Henry VIII., but owe their preservation during the perilous period after the

Dissolution, and before the revival of historical study at the end of the sixteenth century, to their value as title-deeds for the holders of confiscated monastic lands. Their contents, however, cover a large field besides mere land-grants, an analysis of which cannot be given here, nor have we space to discuss the difficult question of the degree of credibility of many of the earliest deeds contained in them. Fortunately, the Museum has also thousands of original grants to religious houses, by which the authenticity of the chartularies may in some cases be checked. Chartularies and other registers, it may be added, are not only a class of document of which a large proportion remains unprinted, but also a class in the interpretation of which palæographical considerations play a very important part. For this reason even the most scholarly editing—and not all editions have been scholarly—cannot enable the student to dispense with consultation of the originals. Besides religious houses, attention may be drawn to the records of religious gilds, of which the records are few but important.

Parish registers begin from about 1588. The originals in the Museum are few, and their presence is due to exceptional circumstances. Modern transcripts have been acquired in increasing numbers of late years. There are several good lists published of existing parish registers which the student may consult, but it may be well to mention that there are in the Museum several registers of Nonconformist bodies in various

parts of England. Municipal corporations, for a variety of reasons, have been less able to keep their records together than ecclesiastical corporations. The frequent changes of their officers, the comparatively unlearned staff in most cases, in others the vicissitudes of their constitution, have contributed to this. There are instances in which a borough has ceased to exist, such as that of Dunwich, which has been washed away by encroachment of the sea. In the case of the Cinque Ports an external jurisdiction has interfered with the local custody of records. More often the negligence of the custodians has allowed records to pass into private hands. It is always worth while to ascertain whether some part of the records of a municipality has strayed into the Museum, albeit the chance of it is not great in any particular instance.

Manorial records, with which, for convenience, may be grouped the records of the courts of a hundred or wapentake, are a numerous and still growing class. The gradual extinction of copyhold tenure still goes on, and sets free the records of extinguished manors, many of which go back to the fourteenth, and not a few to the thirteenth, century, though those earlier than Edward I. are scarce and precious. It is unfortunate that no legal provision exists to secure the preservation of court-rolls and court-books. Their sale-value is scarcely high enough to ensure them against destruction as waste-paper or waste vellum, yet high enough to prevent the Museum, with its

inadequate funds, from being able to secure more than a small proportion of those that come into the market. Besides rolls of court the class includes customaries, rentals, surveys, and bailiffs' accompt-rolls; and though the interest of these, and of the large collections of private deeds, may be said to belong primarily to topography and genealogy, rather than to history in the larger sense, the comparative study of them has still much to teach to the economist and legal historian, as well as indirect light to throw upon details of general history.

We next come to private archives, if the term "archives" be properly applicable to the correspondence, accounts, and miscellaneous papers of private families or individuals. The interest of such collections to the social historian has long been recognized, and is roughly proportional to the remoteness of the times with which the papers deal. The well-known Paston Letters are unfortunately almost a unique survival from the fifteenth century, and may still, even after Dr. Gairdner's excellent edition, yield valuable tailings. A considerable proportion of the originals are now in the British Museum, including most of the contents of vols. iii. to v. of Fenn's edition. For later centuries the mines are more extensive, and if the ore is not quite so precious, the lodes have been less thoroughly worked. The sixteenth-century part of the Paston archives is still inedited, but there are many others, among which may be mentioned the Gawdy Papers (1509-1751), the

Hatton Finch Papers (1514–1779), the Scudamore Papers (*temp.* Henry VIII.–1711), the Barrington Papers (1568-1688), as well as thousands of letters, worth study from this point of view, which are intermingled with the political correspondence in such collections as the Godolphin, Newcastle, Hardwicke, and Wyndham Papers, or among those series the chief interest of which is literary or scientific.

Of this last-mentioned class the collections are too numerous for me to attempt a list here, but some idea of the variety of the material may be given by mentioning the names of Sir Robert Cotton and William Camden amongst the Cotton MSS., Sir Simonds D'Ewes, G. J. Vossius, Humphrey Wanley, and Lord Oxford among the Harley MSS., Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Thomas Birch in their own collections, Sir Henry Spelman, Lord Bolingbroke, Edmund Gibbon, John Wilkes, Sir Joseph Banks, Miss Berry, Leigh Hunt, Charles Babbage, Macvey Napier, Sir A. Panizzi, and Dr. Philip Bliss, among the Additional and Egerton MSS.

Though not archives, nor mainly consisting of correspondence, this is perhaps the most convenient place to notice the very valuable materials for the study of social conditions in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century accumulated by Francis Place. The work done upon them by Mr. Graham Wallas facilitates their use.

Besides English archives, we have to consider materials for English history from foreign archives,

public or private, and these may be either original or second-hand. Among the former class the papers of Cardinal Gualterio, Protector of the English Catholics and Nuncio (1700–1706) at the Court of France, are rich in information on the exiled Stuarts. The papers of Cardinal Henry Benedict Stuart (d. 1807) are less useful from this aspect, being mainly concerned with his ecclesiastical and private affairs. In the class of second-hand materials are the extensive series of transcripts by the Abbé Marino Marini from the Papal Registers (1216–1759), transferred in 1845 from the State Paper Office, and extracts made at the Trustees' expense from the Florentine archives and the Simancas archives for the relations of England with Tuscany and Spain respectively. Much of this, however, is now superseded by later and more scientific work. The Museum has more recently become the place of deposit for the large mass of transcripts used by the Government in the Venezuela and British Guiana boundary arbitration proceedings. To private enterprise are due the extracts from foreign archives for the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, made for Sir James Mackintosh and used in part by Lord Macaulay, and some extracts from the Hague archives made for S. R. Gardiner.

If it has not been easy to indicate what materials for English history to look for in the Museum, it is yet more difficult when foreign history is in question. The stores of such material in the Harley Collection are very considerable, and there

is a fair amount of Italian matter in the library which George III. bought from Joseph Smith, Consul at Venice, now in the King's MSS. The *relazioni* of Venetian Ambassadors and Papal Nuncii at the various Courts of Europe are well represented in the Royal and other collections, and in general the Museum authorities of the first half of Queen Victoria's reign, who had relatively larger sums to spend on the acquisition of manuscripts than their successors, were by no means neglectful of Italian and Spanish history. The dispersion in 1830 of the collections formed by Frederick North, fifth Earl of Guilford, afforded opportunities for acquiring much relating to Italy. Among the Spanish materials special notice is due to the Altamira family archives of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of which an arbitrarily divided section came to the Museum, while the rest remains in Spain. At the sale of Lord Stuart de Rothesay in 1855 the Museum obtained a large collection of laws and ordinances relating to the Portuguese Indies. As to France, the incredible industry with which transcripts of State Papers were multiplied there in manuscript in the seventeenth century is well known. This has benefited the Museum in several instances. Of the great series of sixteenth and seventeenth century papers made for H. A. de Loménie, Comte de Brienne, a duplicate series, made for Colbert, was acquired for the Museum by an exchange with the French Government in 1878, and there are many volumes of the

transcript made for the Chancellor Pierre Séguier (d. 1672) among the Harley MSS. The manuscripts mentioned in this paragraph are but a small proportion, and not necessarily the most important, of the foreign historical material, but the haphazard method in which most of the books in this class have been acquired renders it difficult to lay down principles, and it is impossible in our limits of space to particularize. Thousands of important letters of foreign persons of note have, of course, been obtained, singly or in batches, as autographs.

The space devoted to the discussion of archives and similar material leaves me little or none for the consideration of actual historical works, whether of mediæval chroniclers or later historians, or for any of the numerous classes of works of general literature. The student here will generally have less difficulty in determining what he wants, and the consideration of how to find it will be the subject of the next section.

Meanwhile something must be said of another very voluminous section of the Department's contents, the topographical collections. Probably there is no class of literary work on which so much amateur labour has been spent as topographical history. Little original work of this kind has been remunerative. Second and third hand compilations, based on the labour of others, have doubtless paid their way, but in the main the investigation has been a labour of love. For the cost of printing the author has had to depend on the subscription-list and the patronage of land-

owners. The huge volumes of the old county historians are a remarkable proof of what could be accomplished by this means, but there were great disadvantages in the system. Writers were driven into attempting works too big for a lifetime, and were compelled to devote disproportionate space to the history of the families on whose patronage they relied. Too often the subscription-list failed, or the author died with his work unfinished. To-day things are rather better. The growth of publishing societies, and the multiplication of public libraries which subscribe to them, afford a means of distributing the cost among more numerous and less wealthy patrons, and these represent a greater variety of interests. The old system, however, has left us immense stores of unpublished work, amateurish, no doubt, most of them, in quality, but the fruit of untiring industry. There is still occupation for some generations to make full use of such collections as those of the Randle Holmes for Cheshire, Baker and Cole for Cambridge, and in more recent times Elisha Davy for Suffolk, Streatfeild for Kent, and Eyton for Shropshire. Of these Davy and Eyton rank in a higher class than the others. On a smaller scale, or with specialized aims, the topographical compilations are innumerable. With rubbings of monumental brasses, the wealth of which in this country must be the envy of all foreign antiquaries, the Museum is well stocked. Copies of sepulchral inscriptions, bell inscriptions, and the like, are very plentiful. In addition, it is

necessary to point out, what might otherwise not occur to the student, that the Department of Manuscripts, and not the Department of Prints and Drawings, is the normal place of deposit in the Museum for drawings of churches and other buildings, the interest of which is primarily topographical and not artistic. Of such drawings there are many thousands. It is not, however, to be understood that this Department is the sole place in the Museum to look for such things. Besides the Department of Prints, the Department of Printed Books has also possibilities for the purpose, not only in the shape of extra-illustrated copies of county histories and the like, but also in the subdepartment of maps, in whose charge are all the topographical drawings, as well as plans, etc., belonging to George III.'s collection (the King's maps).

Lastly, as to genealogical material, in this field, more than perhaps any other, the student will find himself overburdened with the quantity of material the Museum can place before him. The quality of it, on the other hand, leaves much to be desired. Were it possible to adopt the view supposed to be held by some of our official genealogists, that a pedigree registered by the Heralds' College is a pedigree, and other pedigrees are nought, the problem would be simple. But this solution, whatever else it may be, is not history. We know too much of the evidences accepted by official heralds to care much about the distinction between registered and unregistered descents, and unfortunately very few of the thousands of volumes of genealogy

in the Museum, whether copied from visitations or not, can be regarded by the scientific genealogist as more than hints for search among more authentic records, and the false scents upon which he is often led tend to dull his gratitude for the other occasions upon which he is put on the right line. For the study of the fascinating but very difficult subject of early heraldry, which has a more genuine interest to the historian, the Museum has much valuable material in early rolls of arms, as well as arms in manuscripts and on seals.

How to Find Manuscript Material in the British Museum.

The printed general catalogues of the manuscript collections in the Department which are in ordinary use amount to more than thirty volumes, as will be seen in Appendix A, and are of widely different dates, covering a period of nearly two centuries. Naturally, therefore, they represent very different standards in the arts of cataloguing and indexing. The older catalogues especially are coloured by the idiosyncrasies of the scholars who made them. The process of bringing up to date the older catalogues is carried on, even in war-time, concurrently with the cataloguing of new acquisitions, but progress is of necessity slow. We have an ever-increasing demand for fuller description and greater scientific accuracy of detail, but, what is more burdensome, the bibliography of the multifarious contents of our manuscripts grows continually with accelerating

speed. Especially has this been the case since the coming of cheaper methods of photography. Students at a distance can now by this means study and edit texts without such long periods of personal attendance and laborious copying in the Museum itself. Cotton and Harley MSS. furnish matter every year for University dissertations and for the study of flourishing professional classes in cities of which those collectors and the cataloguers of their collections never dreamed. Seeing, then, that the bulk of the catalogues is so great, and that no custodian of a library of this magnitude can possibly have even a slight acquaintance with every book in his charge, some kind of subject-index to the collections as a whole is almost a necessity both for the staff and the public. Yet anything approaching to a perfect subject-index for matter so varied and so variously catalogued presents almost insuperable difficulties. Even a unified nominal-index to all the collections, though it is in contemplation, has to be postponed for the present. The recataloguing of the older collections is an indispensable, or at any rate a highly desirable, preliminary to this work, and is from many points of view more urgent. Tiresome though it be to look through some two dozen different indexes to find a particular name, it can be done within a reasonable time; but the result, positive or negative, is only satisfactory if there is some uniformity in the method upon which the indexes have been made. Often, however, it is not a name that the student wants, but a period or a subject. To a certain extent the Museum

system of indexing, as developed in the *Catalogue of Additions* and some other of the more recent catalogues, is designed to meet his needs even in this case. These indexes are not mere lists of personal or place names, but include subject-headings such as Army, Navy, Revenue, Accompts, Political Tracts, Poetry, and many others, a useful list of which is prefixed to the general index of the *Catalogue of Additions* for 1858-1875. Specially valuable are the headings for names of countries, which take the form **England**, *Sovereigns of, and Events in particular Reigns*. But there are many purposes for which none of them are effective. Moreover, the comparison of entries in different indexes for subject-headings is much more difficult than in the case of names. It is not possible to have all the indexes open before one at once, so as to sort them at once at a glance.

Fortunately the student who works in the Department itself is not left entirely without help in this matter. On entering the Students' Room he is at once face to face with a press containing not merely a set of the thirty and odd volumes of the general catalogues, but also more than a hundred large folio volumes, constructed with the aid of scissors and paste, which constitute what is called the Class Catalogue. This institution, not exactly paralleled in any other library known to me, is, I am inclined to think, peculiarly English in its merits and defects. Nothing is easier than to find fault with the scheme of it on the score of logic and balance. There is scarcely a page which does not

of itself afford evidence of inaccuracies and inconsistencies which call aloud for correction. And yet, as a general subject-index, it has the great merit of existence in the present and not in a far and uncertain future. To Sir Edward Bond, under whose keepership it took shape, we must give the credit for a sound appreciation of the truth that any catalogue is better than none, and also for a genius in the discovery of makeshifts not only useful for the time, but capable of continuous development and improvement. Of earlier attempts at partial class-catalogues, such as that adopted in Ayscough's Catalogue of the Sloane and Early Additional MSS. and the more elaborate scheme in the Harley index, it is not necessary to speak. They cannot be pronounced successful. But Sir E. Bond's method, with all its defects, has more than justified itself. He did not, unfortunately, anticipate the discovery of the loose-leaf ledger—the card-index appears less capable of use on this scale—but by cutting up the descriptions—not, as a rule, the indexes—of the various catalogues and distributing them according to a comprehensive scheme he enabled similar matter to be brought together. The heavy wear to which the volumes have been subjected testifies to their utility in practice, but also threatens to abridge the period of that utility, and the future development of the Class Catalogue will doubtless be on the lines of special catalogues, of which the three volumes of the Catalogue of Romances already issued may be taken as a specimen. Part of the topographical section of the catalogue is likely to

be the subject of a future experiment very shortly, and the State Papers are also being taken in hand.

In the meantime the catalogue as it stands forms a series of volumes classified as below. A (not very adequate) alphabetical index of subheadings forms a separate volume.

VOLS.
1–3, History.
4, Public Records.
5, 6, Church History.
7, 7*, State Papers, collected.
8–10, State Papers, single.
11, Political Tracts.
12, 13, Public Revenue, Establishments, Accounts.
14, Trade.
15–28, Single State Letters.
29, Private Letters, collected.
30–42, Private Letters, single, in four series: British and Foreign, before and after 1600.
43, Civil and Canon Law.
44–48, Law and Parliament.
49, Naval.
50, Military.
51–57, Biography and Genealogy.
58–62, Geography and Topography.
63–68, Peerages and Heraldry.

VOLS.
69–73, Theology.
74, 75, Bibles and Commentaries (also Greek Service-Books).
76, 77, Service-Books (Western).
78, Lives of Saints (prose).
79, 80, Religious Orders and Monasteries.
81, Philosophy and Philology.
82, Bibliography and Antiquities.
83, 84, Greek and Latin Classics.
85, Greek General Literature.
86–90, Poetry.
91, Poetry and Drama.
92, 93, 93*, Art.
94, Music.
95–98, Mathematics and Natural Sciences.
99–101, Medicine.
102, 103, 103*, Owners.
104, Donors.
107, Dated MSS., Scribes, etc.

[Vols. 105, 106, 109, 110, represent a temporary nominal index of seals, now placed with the manuscript descriptions of charters at the other end of the room.]

One or two cautions as to the use of the Class Catalogue may be added here, though they might be inferred from the method of its composition. In the first place, since the complete description of the manuscript has usually to be cut up into several portions for insertion in different volumes, the use of the Class Catalogue does not dispense with

consultation of the original catalogue. Secondly, since only the descriptions, not the index, to most of the catalogues have been cut up, and volumes of correspondence, etc., have been much more fully treated of late years in the indexes than in the descriptions, the absence of a name in the Class Catalogue does not imply that it is not to be found in the indexes. This caution is especially necessary when seeking for an autograph. The Class Catalogue volumes for private letters, though useful as far as they go, are not to be taken as evidence that no autograph letter of any particular writer is to be found in the collections.

Finally, it may be well to draw the student's attention to a provision in the Trustees' regulations which has become somewhat more important since the last Copyright Act. It reads as follows: "There is no restriction on copying Manuscripts; but the Trustees take no responsibility for any possible infringement of copyright in publication."

Visitors to the public galleries of the Museum should hardly need to have their attention directed to the official *Guides to Exhibited MSS.*, but much pains has been spent in recent years upon making them more useful by the fulness of the descriptions and by general introductions. The student as well as the sightseer will find that he has something to learn from them, and that the photographs alone are worth the extremely low price of 6d., 6d. and 4d. at which the three parts are now issued.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF COLLECTIONS IN THE MANUSCRIPT DEPARTMENT

Cotton MSS.—Gift by Sir John Cotton, 1700. Press-marks, Julius A.I.–Faustina F.X. and Appendix I.–LXV. Chief sources, collections by Sir Robert (1571–1631) and Sir Thomas Cotton (1594–1662). *Catalogues*, T. Smith, 1696 (still useful for damaged MSS.), and J. Planta, 1802.

Harley MSS.—Purchase from Countess of Oxford and Mortimer and Duchess of Portland, 1753. Press-marks, Harley 1–7660. Chief sources, purchases by Robert (1661–1742) and Edward Harley (1689–1741), 1st and 2nd Earls of Oxford, including the library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602–1650). *Catalogue*, H. Wanley and others, compiled 1708–1762, reprinted with some revision, 1809.

Sloane MSS.—Purchase from executors of Sir Hans Sloane, 1753. Press-marks, Sloane 1–4100 and Additional (or Sloane) 5018–5027, 5214–5308. Source, collections of Sir H. Sloane (1660–1753). *Catalogue*, S. Ayscough, 1782. Fuller catalogue in proof (1–1091, *circ.* 1837) and MS. *Index* (1–4100), E. J. L. Scott, 1904.

Royal MSS.—Gift of George II., 1757. Press-marks, 1 A. I.–20 E. X. and Appendix 1–89. Chief sources, purchases by and gifts to Sovereigns from Edward IV. to George II., spoils of the monasteries, purchases from libraries of John, Lord Lumley (*circ.* 1534–1609), Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), John Theyer (1597–1673). *Catalogue* (forthcoming), 1920.

King's MSS.—Gift of George IV., 1823. Press-marks, King's 1–446. Chief sources, purchases by and gifts to George III., including the library of Joseph Smith, Consul at Venice, bought in 1763. *Catalogue* (forthcoming), 1920.

Birch MSS.—Bequest by Rev. Tho. Birch, D.D., 1765. Press-marks, Additional (or Birch) 4101–4478. Collections by Dr. Birch (1705–1766). *Catalogue*, S. Ayscough, 1782 (see Sloane MSS.). Fuller catalogue MS. (new catalogue in preparation).

Lansdowne MSS.—Purchase from exors. of Marquess of Lansdowne, 1807. Press-marks, Lansdowne 1–1245. Chief sources, papers (Lansd. 1–122) of William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520–1598), collections of Sir J. Cæsar (1558–1636) White Kennett (1660–1728), Philip Carteret Webb (1700–1770), James West (1704–1772), and Lord Shelburne (1737–1805, Marquess of Lansdowne, 1784). *Catalogue*, 1819.

Hargrave MSS.—Purchase from trustees of Francis Hargrave, K.C., 1818. Press-marks, Hargrave 1–514. Source, legal collections of F. Hargrave (1741–1821). *Catalogue*, 1818.

Burney MSS.—Purchase from exors. of Charles Burney, D.D., 1818. Press-marks, Burney 1–524. Source, collections, chiefly classical, of Dr. C. Burney (1757–1817). *Catalogue*, 1840.

Egerton MSS.—Bequest of Francis Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater, 1829, and purchases from funds provided by him and augmented by Charles Long, Lord Farnborough (d. 1838), to present time. Press-marks, Egerton 1–3026 (1919). Descriptions to 1835 (Eg. 1–606) in annual *Reports* of the Museum (new catalogue in preparation); index in *Index to Add. MSS. 1782–1835*, 1849. From 1836 onwards in *Catalogues of Additions*.

Arundel MSS.—Purchase from Royal Society, 1831. Press-marks, Arundel 1–550. Source, collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1592–1646). *Catalogue*, 1834; *Index*, 1840.

Stowe MSS.—Purchase from Earl of Ashburnham, 1883. Press-marks, Stowe 1–1085. Sources, collections of Arthur Capell, Earl of Essex (1632–1683), Thomas Astle (1735–1803), Charles O'Conor (1764–1828), and the 1st Marquess of Buckingham (1783–1813). *Catalogue*, 1895.

Additional MSS.—Gifts and purchases. Press-marks, Additional 4101–39904 (1919), following upon the Sloane numeration, and including the Birch MSS. (4101–4473) and omitted Sloane Nos. 5018–5027, 5214–5308. *Catalogue*, to 1782 (Add. 5017), included in Ayscough, 1782 (see Sloane MSS.), fuller catalogue in MS. (new catalogue in preparation); from 1783–1835 descriptions MS. or in Museum *Reports*; *Index*, 1849; from 1836 in *Catalogues of Additions*.

[NOTE.—Most of the above collections included in their numeration, before the separation of a special Department of Oriental MSS. and Printed Books, a few MSS. in Oriental languages. These have all been transferred to the new department, except those in the Egerton Collection, which remain in the care of the Keeper of MSS. as Egerton Librarian.]

Papyri.—Gifts and purchases. Press-marks, Papyrus 1–2102 (1919); Greek and Latin documents found in Egypt by the Egypt Exploration Fund or other excavators. *Catalogues of Papyri*, vols. i.-v., 1893–1917; summary inventory of additions since 1906 in *Catalogues of Additions*.

Cotton Charters and Rolls; Harley Charters and Rolls; Sloane Charters; Lansdowne Charters.—Gift or purchase, as in case of MSS., see above. Press-marks, Cotton Augustus II. 1–186 and Cotton Ch. I.–XXX. 41; Harley Ch. 43 A. 1–77, H. 50, 112 I. 62, and Harley Rolls A. 1-DD. 5; Sloane Ch. xxxi. 1–xxxiv. 1*a*. Lansdowne Ch. 1–695. Descriptions and personal index MS. Topographically indexed in *Index to Charters and Rolls*, vols. i., ii. (1900, 1912).

Royal Rolls.—Royal MSS. 14 B. I.–14 B. LII. Included in new *Catalogue of Royal and King's MSS.*, as above. Topographically indexed also in *Index to Charters and Rolls*, i., ii., as above.

Topham Charters.—Purchase at sale of library of John Topham, 1804. Press-marks, Topham Ch. 1–56. Descriptions and personal index MS. Topographically indexed in *Index to Charters and Rolls*, i., ii., as above.

Campbell Charters.—Gift from Lord Frederick Campbell, 1814. Press-marks, Campbell Ch. I. 1-XXX. 22. Descriptions and personal index MS. Topographically indexed in *Index to Charters and Rolls*, i., ii., as above.

Wolley Charters.—Bequest of Adam Wolley, 1826. Press-marks, Wolley Ch. I. 1–XII. 144. Descriptions and personal index MS. Topographically indexed in *Index to Charters and Rolls*, i., ii., as above.

Church Briefs.—Gift of John Stevenson Salt, 1829. Press-marks, Church Briefs, A. I. 1–C. VIII. 8. Inventory MS. Topographically indexed in *Index to Charters and Rolls*, i., ii., as above.

Egerton Charters.—Bequest and purchase, as Egerton MSS. Press-marks, Egerton Ch. 1–2115 (1919). Descriptions and personal index MS. Topographically indexed (to 1900, Eg. Ch. 621) in *Index to Charters and Rolls*, i., ii., as above.

Stowe Charters.—Purchase, as Stowe MSS. Press-marks, Stowe Ch. 1–646. *Catalogue*, with Stowe MSS., 1895. Topographically indexed also in *Index to Charters and Rolls*, ii.

Additional Charters and Rolls.—Gifts and purchases. Press-marks, Additional Ch. 1–62821 (1918). Descriptions and personal index MS. Topographically indexed (to 1900, Add. Ch. 47597) in *Index to Charters and Rolls*, i., ii., as above. Summary inventory of later acquisitions in *Catalogues of Additions*.

Detached Seals and Casts.—Gifts and purchases. Press-marks, i. 1–clxiv. 87 (1918). Descriptions of these and also of seals attached to charters in the above collections in *Catalogue of Seals*, W. de G. Birch, vols. i.-vi., 1887–1900. Personal index MS. Summary inventory of later acquisitions in *Catalogues of Additions*.

NOTE.—The following special catalogues should be consulted for the classes of MS. to which they refer, so far as acquired at the date of compilation:

Catalogue of Ancient MSS. Part I., Greek (to A.D. 900), 1881.

Catalogue of Ancient MSS. Part II., Latin (chiefly before A.D. 900), 1884.

Catalogue of Spanish MSS., P. de Gayangos, vols. i.-iv., 1875–1893.

Catalogue of Irish MSS., S. O'Grady and R. Flower, in preparation (partly printed).

Catalogue of Romances, H. L. D. Ward and J. A. Herbert, vols. i.-iii., 1887-1910.

Catalogue of MS. Music, A. Hughes-Hughes, vols. i.-iii., 1908–1909.

Catalogue of MS. Maps, Charts, Plans, and Topographical Drawings, vols. i., ii., 1844; vol. iii., printed but not published (a copy available in Dept.), 1861.

Catalogue of Icelandic MSS., H. L. D. Ward, MS., 1864.

Of non-official publications the following, amongst others, will be found useful:

R. Priebsch, *Deutsche Handschriften in England*, Bd. ii., 1901.

Historical MSS. Commission, *MSS. in the Welsh Language in the British Museum*, 1910.

Sir T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (Rolls Series) 3 vols. (to 1327), 1862–1871.

C. McL. Andrews and F. G. Davenport, *MS. Materials for the History of the United States in the British Museum*, etc., 1908.

Edw. Owen, *Catalogue of MSS. in the British Museum relating to Wales* (Cymmrodorion Society), 3 vols., 1900–1908.

APPENDIX B

ROUGH LISTS OF SOME OF THE STATESMEN AND OTHERS WHOSE PAPERS (CORRESPONDENCE, LETTER-BOOKS, ETC.), IN WHOLE OR IN PART, ARE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

The offices named are for identification only, not a list of the offices held, or with which the papers are concerned. Extreme dates given in List I. are approximate, and in many cases cover earlier or later papers only indirectly connected with the statesman's career

I.—Secretaries of State and other High Officers from *temp.* Edw. VI.

Sir Will. Cecil, Ld. Burghley (Ld. Treas. 1572–1598)	1547–1598
Henry Cary, Visc. Falkland (Ld.-Dep. of Irel. 1622–1629)	1628–1629
Sir Edw. Nicholas (Sec. of St. 1641–1649, 1654–1662)	1560–1669
Joh. Maitland, D. of Lauderdale (Sec. of St. Scotl. 1661–1682)	1582–1682

Sir Rob. Southwell (Clk. to P.C. 1664–1679, Ch. Sec. Irel. 1690–1702)	1659–1697
Hen. Coventry (Sec. of St. 1672-1680)	1672–1680
Tho. Osborne, E. of Danby, D. of Leeds (Ld. Treas. 1673–1679)	1673–1711
Edw. Conway, 1st E. of Conway (Sec. of St. 1681–1683)	1680–1683
Will. Blathwayt (Sec. at War 1683–1704).. ..	1660–1704
Hen. Hyde, 2nd E. of Clarendon (Ld.-Lt. of Irel. 1685-1687)	1675–1709
J. Robethon (Priv. Sec. to William III. and Geo. I.)	1692–1719
Joh. Ellis (Under-Sec. of St. 1695–1705)	1643–1720
Edw. Southwell (Clk. to P.C. 1699–1730)	1703–1727
Laur. Hyde, E. of Rochester (Ld.-Lt. of Irel. 1701–1703)	1675–1709
Dan. Finch, 2nd E. of Nottingham (Sec. of St. 1702–1704)	1694–1725
Sid. Godolphin, 1st E. of Godolphin (Ld. Treas. 1702–1710)	1669–1712
Jas. Butler, 2nd D. of Ormonde (Ld.-Lt. of Irel. 1703–1707, 1710–1713)	1703–1719
Hen. Boyle, Ld. Carleton (Sec. of St.)	1709
Jas. Stanhope, 1st E. Stanhope (Sec. of St. 1714–1717)	1716
Chas. Townshend, 2nd V. Townshend (Sec. of St. 1714–1717, 1721–1730)	1709–1726
James Craggs (Sec. of St. 1718–1721)	1695–1720
Joh. Carteret, 1st E. Granville (Sec. of St. 1721–1724, 1742–1744, 1746)	1719–1745
Philip Yorke, 1st E. of Hardwicke (Ld. Chanc. 1737–1756)	1723–1763
Tho. Pelham-Holles, D. of Newcastle (1st Ld. Treas. 1754–1756, 1757–1762)	1697–1768
Hon. Hen. Seymour Conway (Sec. of St. 1765–1768)	1766
Hon. Chas. Yorke (Ld. Chanc. 1770)	1740–1770
Chas. Jenkinson, 1st E. of Liverpool (Sec. at War 1778–1782)	1718–1807
Will. Eden, 1st Ld. Auckland (Ch. Sec. Irel. 1780–1782)	1660–1833
Fra. Godolphin Osborne, 5th D. of Leeds (Sec. of St. 1783–1791)	1756–1798
Philip Yorke, 3rd E. of Hardwicke (Ld.-Lt. of Irel. 1801–1806)	1778–1831
Nich. Vansittart, Lord Bexley (Ch. Sec. Irel. 1805, Chanc. Exch. 1812–1823)	1793–1835
Will. Windham (Sec. of St. for War 1806–1807) ..	1782–1810

Rich. Colley Wellesley, M. Wellesley (Sec. of St. 1809–1812) 1773–1842
Rob. Banks Jenkinson, 2nd E. of Liverpool (1st Ld. Treas. 1812–1827) 1797–1828
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Sir Rob. Peel, 2nd Bart. (1st Ld. Treas. 1834, 1841–1846) .. .. *not yet available*

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Sir Hen. Unton, 1591–1592.
Sir Tho. Edmondes, 1592–1599 and 1610–1617.
Sir Rob. Cecil, 1597–1598.
James Hay, Visc. Doncaster, 1622–1623.
John Scudamore, Visc. Scudamore, 1635–1639.
Sir Rich. Browne, 1641–1660.
Ralph Montagu, 1669.
Edw. Villiers, E. of Jersey, 1669–1699.
Horatio Walpole, Ld. Walpole of Wolterton, 1725–1726.
Will. Anne Keppel, E. of Albemarle, 1749–1754.
Sir Jos. Yorke (Sec. of Emb.), 1749–1751.
Hans Stanley, 1761.
Will. Eden, 1786–1787.

To German Courts:

Sir Walter Vane, Prussia, 1665–1666.
Sir B. Gascoigne, Vienna, 1672–1673.
Sir Paul Rycaut, Hanse Towns, 1689–1694.
Sir Will. Dutton Colt, Hanover, 1691–1692.
Jas. Cressett, Hanover, 1698–1701.
Geo. Stepney, Prussia, 1698, and Vienna, 1702–1706.
Chas. Whitworth, Ld. Whitworth, Ratisbon, 1702–1703 and 1714–1716.
Tho. Wentworth, E. of Strafford, Prussia, 1703.
Chas. Whitworth, Ld. Whitworth, Vienna, 1704, and Prussia, 1716–1717, 1719–1722.
Sir Tho. Robinson, Ld. Grantham, Vienna, 1730–1748.
Rob. Keith, Vienna, 1748–1757.
David Murray, Vienna, 1765–1772.
Sir Rob. Murray Keith, Dresden, 1769–1771; Vienna, 1772–1792.
Ld. Henry John Spencer, Prussia, 1795.

To the Netherlands:

Sir Tho. Edmondes, Brussels, 1605–1609.
Dudley Carleton, Ld. Carleton, Hague, 1627.
Sir Geo. Downing, Hague, 1657–1663, 1671–1672.
Col. Henry Sydney, Hague, 1679–1681.
Edw. Villiers, E. of Jersey, Hague, 1697.

Alex. Stanhope, Hague, 1700–1705.
Jas. Dayrolle, Hague, 1706–1712, 1717–1738.
Tho. Wentworth, E. of Strafford, Hague, 1711–1714.
Chas. Boyle, 4th E. of Orrery, Utrecht, 1711–1714.
Chas. Whitworth, Ld. Whitworth, Hague, 1717–1719.
Joh. Dalrymple, E. of Stair, Hague, 1742–1748.
Sir Jos. Yorke, Hague, 1752–1772.
Will. Eden, Ld. Auckland, Hague, 1789–1793.

To Italian Courts and Savoy :

Sir Dudley Carleton, Venice, 1615.
Sir Isaac Wake, Savoy and Venice, 1615–1630.
Rich. Hill, Sardinia, 1703–1706.
Sir Will. Lynch, Sardinia, 1769–1776.
Joh. Stuart, Visc. Mountstuart, Sardinia, 1779–1783.
Sir Will. Hamilton, Naples, 1798–1800.

To Spain :

Sir Walter Aston, 1621–1625 and 1635–1638.
James Hay, E. of Carlisle, 1623–1624.
Arthur Hopton, 1634–1636.
Geo. Bubb, Ld. Melcombe, 1714–1718.
Geo. Hervey, E. of Bristol, 1758–1761.
Tho. Robinson, Ld. Grantham, 1771–1779.
Joh. Stuart, Visc. Mountstuart, 1783–1784.
Will. Eden, Ld. Auckland, 1788–1789.
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Rich. Colley Wellesley, M. Wellesley, 1809.

To Portugal :

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Francis Parry, 1671–1680.
Paul Methuen, 1698–1700.
Hen. Worsley, 1714–1722.
Jas. O'Hara, Ld. Tyrawley, 1728–1741.

To Scandinavian Courts :

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Walter Titley, Copenhagen, 1729–1765.
Rob. Gunning, Copenhagen, 1771–1772.
Ld. Henry John Spencer, Stockholm, 1793–1794.
Nich. Vansittart and Will. Drummond, Copenhagen, 1801.

To Russia :

Chas. Whitworth, Ld. Whitworth, 1704–1712.
Jas. O'Hara, Ld. Tyrawley, 1742–1745.
Sir Chas. Hanbury Williams, 1755–1757.
Rob. Keith, 1757–1762.
Joh. Hobart, 2nd E. of Bucks, 1762–1765.
Hen. Shirley, 1767–1768.
Rob. Gunning, 1772–1776.

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Jas. Brydges, 8th Ld. Chandos, 1681–1686.
Sir Will. Trumbull, 1687–1688.
Jas. Porter, 1748–1757.

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Sir R. Palk, Madras, 1763–1767.
Warren Hastings, Bengal, 1771–1785.
Elijah Impey (Ch. Just., Calcutta), 1774–1783.
Geo. Macartney, Ld. Macartney, Madras, 1781–1785.
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Sir Tho. Munro, Madras, 1820–1827.
Geo. Eden, E. of Auckland, 1836–1842.

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Adm. Sir Chas. Wager, 1611–1757.
Adm. Sir Joh. Jervis, E. of St. Vincent, 1755–1823.
Brig.-Gen. Hen. Bouquet and Lt.-Gen. Sir Fred. Haldimand 1757–1785.
Maj.-Gen. Studholme Hodgson, 1757–1857.
Horatio Nelson, Visc. Nelson, 1762–1806.
Cuthbert Collingwood, Ld. Collingwood, 1782–1809.
Gen. Sir Rob. Tho. Wilson, 1798–1848.
Sir Hudson Lowe, 1799–1821.
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